

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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R 272121Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3180

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 06892

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY, HABIB AND SCHAUFLE FROM LAKE

PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR AARON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK
SUBJECT: US-UK TALKS ON RHODESIA - APRIL 27

1. TODAY'S TALKS WENT WELL. WE COVERED THE AGENDA AND MADE ALL THE POINTS WE HAD INTENDED. WHILE HARDLY OVERJOYED ABOUT OUR INABILITY TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY WITH AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF FULL AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE OR THE DIFFICULTIES WE ARE HAVING WITH CONGRESS ON THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, BRITISH OFFICIALS ACCEPTED OUR ESSENTIALLY POSITIVE APPROACH AND AGREED GENERALLY WITH OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION--INCLUDING THE PIVOTAL ROLE OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS IF ONE OR MORE OF THE NATIONALISTS WERE TO REFUSE TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE.
2. THEY--GRAHAM, MANSFIELD AND OTHER FCO STAFF--WILL BE REPORTING TO OWEN TOMORROW MORNING, AND WE WILL THEN MEET AGAIN. IT IS CLEAR THAT WHILE WE AND THEY ARE ON MUCH THE SAME WAVELENGTH, THEY ARE NOT SURE THAT OWEN WILL ACCEPT THEIR VIEWS. WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE TOO WERE
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SPEAKING AD REFERENDUM.

3. THE PRINCIPAL SECTIONS OF A MINUTE DRAFTED BY THE BRITISH AND AMENDED SLIGHTLY BY US FOLLOWS. YOU WILL NOTE THAT WE DEVELOPED TOGETHER A RATHER DIFFERENT POSSIBLE APPROACH (POINT B). THE THREE OF US BELIEVE THAT THIS APPROACH, BASICALLY GRAHAM'S IDEA. COULD HAVE CON-

SIDERABLE ADVANTAGES, SINCE IT WOULD ALLOW US TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR THE BRITISH AND MAINTAIN MOMENTUM BUT WOULD NOT PLUNGE US INTO JOINT BILATERALS WITH THE AFRICANS OR THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A CONFERENCE WHICH THE AFRICANS MIGHT REJECT.

4. BEGIN TEXT:

US ROLE

THE AMERICANS ARE PREPARED TO PLAY WHATEVER ROLE WILL MOST USEFULLY ADVANCE MATTERS. MR. VANCE AGREED ON 1 APRIL TO CO-SPONSOR A CONFERENCE AT WHICH THE US WOULD DIRECTLY PARTICIPATE, SEND A STRONG DELEGATION AND SPEAK AT PLENARY SESSIONS. INITIAL INDICATIONS FROM THE NATIONALISTS, PARTICULARLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, CALL INTO QUESTION WHETHER A CONFERENCE CAN BE ORGANIZED AT THIS STAGE WITH THE AMERICANS PLAYING SUCH A ROLE. THE PROBLEM THEN IS WHETHER TO GO AHEAD ON THE ORIGINAL BASIS AND RISK AN OUTRIGHT REBUFF (AS NOW SEEMS LIKELY) OR TO SEEK A FORMULA WHICH PRESERVES THE CONCEPT OF EVIDENT DIRECT US INVOLVEMENT WHILST STILL DEFINING US PARTICIPATION IN WAYS THAT THE AFRICANS CAN ACCEPT AND THE ILLEGAL REGIME FINDS ATTRACTIVE. THE US ARE NOT WILLING TO GO AHEAD WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A CONFERENCE INVOLVING FULL AMERICAN PARTICIPATION OR JOINT BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS SO LONG AS THE AFRICANS CLEARLY HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT SUCH A US ROLE. IMMEDIATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AFRICANS TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THESE DOUBTS WOULD BE NECESSARY BEFORE A DECISION IS TAKEN ON PROCEEDING IN THIS WAY.

NEXT STEPS

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THE RESULTS OF DR. OWEN'S MISSION HAVE SATISFIED BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THEY SHOULD PURSUE THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT THE NEW STRATEGY THROUGH THE NEGOTIATION OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION, AND SHOULD MAINTAIN MOMENTUM IN FOLLOWING THIS COURSE. IN THE LIGHT OF THE ATTITUDES OF THE PARTIES THE TWO IMMEDIATE OPTIONS, WHICH ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE, ARE:

- A) A ROUND OF PRELIMINARY SOUNDINGS TO CLARIFY AFRICAN ATTITUDES TO US INVOLVEMENT TO BE COMPLETED BEFORE 6 MAY (WHEN DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE WILL NEXT BE MEETING) WITH A VIEW TO A DECISION TO ANNOUNCE A CONFERENCE;
- B) FOR THE UK TO PROCEED WITH BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NATIONALISTS AND THE ILLEGAL REGIME ABOUT THE CONTENT OF A CONSTITUTION IN THE HOPE OF ENCOURAGING THEM IN MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE;

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AND FOR THE US TO PLAY A COMPLEMENTARY ROLE THROUGH
SUPPORTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AFRICANS, TAKING
PART TO AN APPROPRIATE EXTENT WITH THE UK AND PAR-
TICIPATING AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME IN A CONFERENCE.
THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF SUCH AN APPROACH COULD NOTE THAT
THIS PROCESS WOULD LOOK TO THE HOLDING OF A CON-
STITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.
WHICHEVER COURSE IS ADOPTED THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND
MR. VORSTER SHOULD BE KEPT INFORMED.

THE ADVANTAGES OF (A), IF IT WORKS ARE:

- THE MAINTENANCE OF MOMENTUM
- THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF FULL US
INVOLVEMENT

THE DISADVANTAGES ARE:

- THE AFRICANS MAY BE CONSOLIDATED IN THEIR OB-
JECTIONS, THE PROCESS MAY BE PROLONGED AND
MOMENTUM MAY THUS BE LOST.
- IT WILL FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE US ROLE AS A
PIVOTAL POINT.
- IF WE ARE TO SHIFT THE AFRICANS WE WOULD PROBAB
HAVE TO ACCEPT SOME DEROGATION FROM FULL US
PARTICIPATION AS ORIGINALLY ENVISAGED.

THE ADVANTAGES OF (B) ARE

- IT COULD BE PUT INTO OPERATION QUICKLY AND THUS
SERVE TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM.

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- IT WILL NOT CONFRONT THE NATIONALISTS WITH A TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT CHOICE.
 - IT WILL NOT REQUIRE THE US TO BACK OFF.
 - IT WILL FOCUS IMMEDIATELY ON THE MAIN QUESTION OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THUS SHOW OUR SINCERITY IN TRYING TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.
 - IT COULD GET THE US INVOLVED IN WAYS TO WHICH THE AFRICANS WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY OBJECTING.
- IF COURSE (B) IS PURSUED THERE ARE TWO PRACTICAL

QUESTIONS TO BE DECIDED:

- (A) ON THE NATURE OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT, AND
- (B) ON HOW THE US CAN BEST BE MESSED INCREASINGLY INTO THE BRITISH APPROACHES TO THE PARTIES, AS THE PROCESS PROCEEDS. FOR EXAMPLE, THROUGH CONTINUOUSLY CLOSER WORK WITH A BRITISH LIAISON OFFICE BASED IN DAR ES SALAA

THESE QUESTIONS COULD BEST BE HANDLED BY MAINTAINING CLOSE TOUCH THROUGH OUR EMBASSIES IN LONDON AND WASHINGTON OVER THE NEXT WEEK. END TEXT

5. OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST:

--THEY HAD PREPARED A PAPER ON BOTH PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS TO WHICH WE HAD A NUMBER OF OBJECTIONS. THEY WILL BE REVISING IT IN THE LIGHT OF THOSE OBJECTIONS AND GIVING IT TO US THROUGH THEIR EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, FOR OUR COMMENT. (THE PAPER AS ORIGINALLY DRAFTED ASSUMED THAT THE US SHARES WITH THE UK THE RIGHT TO IMPOSE THE DETAILS OF A CONSTITUTION FOR RHODESIA AND COULD ACT ON THAT RIGHT.)

--THE BRITISH EXPECT TO ACT THROUGH THE LIAISON OFFICE THEY HAD MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY IN CARRYING OUT THE FORMAL BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AFRICANS. ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT STILL ESTABLISH SOME SORT OF SMALL SUBSIDIARY OFFICE IN SALISBURY FOR THE PURPOSE

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OF SECURE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC., THEY TOOK OUR POINTS ABOUT BASING THE OPERATION THERE. THEY LEAN TOWARDS DAR ES SALAAM OVER LUSAKA, IN VIEW OF THE PROBLEMS MUZOREWA MIGHT HAVE WITH LUSAKA AND BECAUSE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS MOVING ITS HEADQUARTERS TO DAR. --IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY HAVE NOT THOUGHT THROUGH VERY CAREFULLY WHAT THEY MEAN BY "LOGISTICAL SUPPORT" FOR A PEACEKEEPING FORCE, BUT MENTIONED OFF-HAND SUCH THINGS AS SETTING UP A "MAINTENANCE AND ORDNANCE BASE", PROVIDING TRANSPORTATION OF SUPPLIES AND/OR PERSONNEL, AND MAINTAINING A RAIL HEAD OUTSIDE RHODESIA. WE SAID WE WOULD TRY TO THINK IT THROUGH

OURSELVES, AND PERHAPS DEVELOP GENERAL GUIDELINES.
WE REITERATED THE POINT ABOUT NO TROOPS AND THE
NECESSITY OF CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR ANYTHING WE
DID.

--THEY AGREED IN PRINCIPLE THAT WE SHOULD ESTABLISH
SOME SORT OF JOINT PLANNING EFFORT TO CONSIDER BOTH
IMMEDIATE ACTIONS ON TIGHTENING CURRENT SANCTIONS AND
TO START TO THINK ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE FUTURE PRES-
SURES FOR NEW MEASURES AT THE UN. THEY REITERATED
THEIR OPPOSITION TO EXTENSION OF CHAPTER 7 SANCTIONS
TO SOUTH AFRICA OVER RHODESIA, NAMIBIA OR, OF COURSE,

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APARTHEID ITSELF. WE STATED OUR OWN CONCERN OVER
SUCH SANCTIONS, BUT DID NOT FORECLOSE OUR FINAL
POSITION. WE EMPHASIZED THE NEED. HOWEVER. TO START
THINKING ABOUT HOW WE WOULD HANDLE PRESSURES IN THAT
DIRECTION AND ABOUT OTHER MEASURES THAT COULD BE
TAKEN IN SUCH A SITUATION.

--GRAHAM SAID OWEN IS CONSIDERING INVITING NKOMO AND
MUGABE TO LONDON TO SEE HIM AROUND MAY 6-8 AND MIGHT
SUGGEST THAT SECRETARY VANCE SEE THEM, ALSO, IN A
SEPARATE MEETING. WE INFORMED GRAHAM THAT NKOMO
HAD EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN SEEING THE SECRETARY
AND THAT WE WOULD BE INCLINED TO RECOMMEND THIS TO
THE SECRETARY, TIME PERMITTING, SINCE HE HAD ALREADY
SEEN MUZOREWA.

6. GRAHAM, MANSFIELD AND WE MET SEPARATELY WITH TED
ROWLANDS FOR ALMOST AN HOUR. HE CONVEYED MORE INTENSELY

THEIR POLITICAL CONCERN AT KEEPING THE US "SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER" WITH THEM. WE EMPHASIZED OUR ESSENTIAL POINT THAT WE ARE NOT SUDDENLY GETTING COLD FEET BUT THAT THE REACTIONS OF THE AFRICANS REQUIRE US TO THINK THROUGH ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES THAT CAN ALLOW US TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE. WHILE UNDERSTANDING THIS POINT, HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES SEEKING AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO AS FULL AN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION
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AS POSSIBLE.

7. IN VIEW OF SCHEDULING DIFFICULTIES, THERE HAD BEEN NO PLAN FOR US TO SEE DR. OWEN. HOWEVER, GRAHAM MAY SEEK SUCH A MEETING FOR TOMORROW MORNING.

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